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GUATEMALA STORY

How Washington moves to crush popular rule in a sister republic

THE long-smoldering conflict between the U. S. and Guatemala flared up May 15 when a Swedish freighter brought an arms shipment to Puerto Barrios from Stettin, Poland. To President Eisenhower it was "disturbing," to the State Dept. a development of "gravity"; Secy. Dulles saw a threat to the Panama Canal (Guatemala has no airforce, Panama Canal is 750 airmiles away) and added that the Guatemalan government, "in which Communist influence is very strong, has come into a position to dominate the Central American area." The neighboring dictatorship of Nicaragua broke off relations with Guatemala, the U.S. increased arms shipments to Nicaragua and Honduras, U. S. B-36 superbombers flew over Nicaragua "as an instrument of foreign policy in Central America" (UP, 5/27).

For Guatemala, Foreign Minister Toriello said the U.S. had prevented it from buying arms elsewhere and that it "is not a colony of the U.S. nor an associated state that requires [U.S.] permission to acquire the things indispensable for its defense and security." He offered Honduras a non-aggression pact to demonstrate Guatemala's good-neighborliness. Washington's "outcry . . . achieved, for Guatemala, a greater degree of national unity" than ever before; opposition newspapers "rallied to defend the government's action" (N. Y. Times 5/21).

"SPOILING FOR CHANCE": Washington's desire to suppress the Guatemalan government "even by force" (Spruille Braden, quoted in NYT, 3/13/53) has been no secret. **Business Week** (3/21/53) reported nearby dictators "spoiling for a chance to uproot the present Guatemalan government." Since 1944, when dictator Ubico was deposed, there have been over 30 tries to overthrow the popular regime. On Jan. 29, Guatemalan officials presented documentary evidence "of preparations being made for an armed invasion," which involved Nicaraguan dictator Somoza and "the government of the North" (GUARDIAN, 3/8).

At Caracas last March, the U. S. pressured the majority delegates to the Inter-American Conference into voting "without enthusiasm, without optimism, without joy" in favor of an anti-communist resolution obviously aimed at Guatemala. Shortly afterward, four U. S. ambassadors to Central America were called to Washington for conferences. Among them was Ambassador to Guatemala John E. Peurifoy, "a veteran of tussles with the Communists in Greece," appointed with instructions to take a tough attitude toward Guatemala.

WORDS, THEN ACTION: One of the four ambassadors described the purpose of the Washington conference: "Well, we put through our resolution in Caracas, and now we have got to decide what we're going to do about it" (NYT, 5/23). Peurifoy was known to have reported in a secret memorandum to Washington that other Central American countries might be prompted into some sort of joint action against Guatemala either under or beyond the Caracas resolution (NYT, 4/19).

Washington also demanded $16 million compensation for unused United Fruit Co. land taken over by the government in Guatemala's land-reform program, and accused Guatemala of fomenting strikes of nearly 30,000 workers in U. S.-owned plantations and mills in Honduras. Denying this, Toriello said United Fruit would get just compensation and the same treatment as Guatemalan landowners. (The Honduran strikes were gradually being settled by negotiation on the basis of union demands for more pay, better conditions.)

DROPPINGS: During May, a radio station on the border of Honduras—where many opponents of the Guatemalan government, including Col. Carlos Castillo Armas, have found shelter—broadcast exhortations to

(Continued on page 3)

Is there a drink in the house?

A Talmudic proverb says: "The camel set out to get him horns and was shorn of his ears." This, in a nutshell, is the history of Pakistan's relation with Washington. These sandwich-board camels were hired off Karachi's waterfront with the promise of a drink to show Pakistan's gratitude for a shipment of surplus U. S. wheat last July for starving Pakistanis. Eleven months later, Pakistan's central government deposed the government of East Pakistan—overwhelmingly elected to office in a free vote—at the prodding of Washington. Reason? Too much concern for the people's welfare. Truth, as Byron said, is in a well. Any camel in Pakistan can tell you that.

ILA FOUGHT 3 GOVERNMENTS, UNION RAIDERS AND THE COPS

Labor's rank and file win a great victory on the New York docks

By Elmer Bendiner

NEW YORK's longshoremen, fighting with their backs to the wall against a well-ordered offensive by city, state and national governments, by the press, union raiders, police and judges, last week scored one of labor's most momentous victories in years.

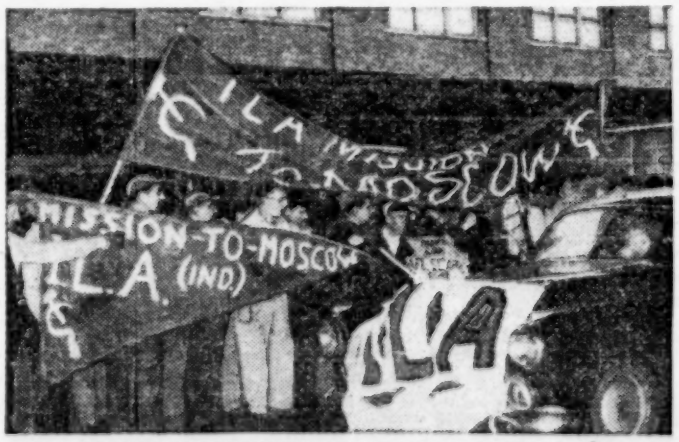
This is what the independent Intl. Longshoremen's Assn. faced on May 26 when the Natl. Labor Relations Board opened polling booths along the waterfront:

The Waterfront Commission, appointed by the governors of New York and New Jersey, held the port like an army of occupation. It supervised hiring in government halls, fingerprinted and screened longshoremen for their political views. It found many staunch ILA leaders "undesirable" and ruled them out of their jobs.

JOB'S LOT: One week before election the Commission announced it had information that "Tough Tony" Anastasia had sent an ambassador to Harry Bridges to collect $3,675. As if there were criminal overtones, the Commission sent the information (with copies to the press) to U. S. Atty. Leonard P. Moore "for such action as you deem appropriate."

From another sector U. S. District Court Judge Burke fined the union $50,000 for allegedly violating a non-strike injunction during the 29-day walkout last March. The Federal government impounded the union's funds and on the morning of the election forced the ILA into receivership.

The courts had meanwhile sentenced ILA leaders to jail (GUARDIAN, 5/24) and fined several locals along with the parent union. AFL raiders, heavily protected by police, dressed in burlesque cossack outfits to red-bait ILA campaigners. Newspaper editorials warned the longshoremen to vote AFL-ILA; news stories featured denunciations of ILA men simultaneously as gangsters and communists.



ILA MOTORCADE TOURS WATERFRONT BEFORE VOTE
And AFL dockworkers heckle from the sidelines

ANOTHER CHANCE: Last December the longshoremen had stood up to similar attacks, stuck with the union and voted for the ILA—only to have the results tied up in litigation and eventually voided because of "violence." ILA ran 1,492 votes ahead of the AFL in that tally. Of 4,399 ballots challenged, three-quarters were admittedy for ILA.

In effect the authorities were telling the longshoremen they were being given another chance to behave. There was the prospect that, even if they did win, the same stunt might be pulled and contract negotiations stalled indefinitely.

The longshoremen were carrying on the fight with scarcely a kind word from most of organized labor. If ever U. S. workingmen were tempted to throw in the towel it was on N. Y.'s waterfront last month.

TABOO LIFTED: Still, on election eve some 6,000 longshoremen in rallies throughout the city cheered every defiance of the authorities ranged against them. The spirit infected the leadership and intl. pres. Capt. William V. Bradley touched what had long been taboo among longshore leaders. He

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This is the season to renew

If your address-plate on p. 1 (reverse of this box) reads June, 1954 (6-54) or earlier, your sub is in arrears and is due for renewal NOW.

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THE MAIL BAG

Blood on the rice

LYONS, NEB.

Man! Did you throw a ringer with the "National Nausea Month" picture of McCarthy (5/17). Somebody ought to make a fortune on clothespins—to stifle the stench.

A radio commentator admitted that the issue in Indo-China is "tin and rubber and rice." Nothing about communism. The Big Lie, as you rightly call it.

I have just written to Ike reminding him that every used-car lot, every city dump and river bank is crammed with waste tin and rubber, so why kill innocent people just to steal more? I also informed him that we will refuse to eat stolen rice covered with blood. Mrs. Harvey Sydow

Interloper

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Nixon is after
McCarthy's pelf
'Cause he's being groomed
For THE Fuehrer himself.

Lawrence Gellert

"Dam spoil park"?

LOGAN, UTAH

I must take exception to the statements made in regard to the Echo Park Dam in your otherwise very excellent recent article on the Eisenhower power policy. Liberals should not be deluded into opposing the Echo Park project because "it will spoil the scenic beauty," etc. The fact is that the present isolation of the dam site results in few visitors, and the romance of running the river is limited to those few who have the wherewithal and time to do so, such as wealthy Sierra Club members.

The tremendous attendance at Boulder Dam disproves the "dam spoil park" theory. The same increased access to Echo Park resulting from the dam would similarly make the scenery more available to the general public. The dam would moreover not flood away dinosaur bones.

Actually, the real opposition to the dam comes from California interests who want to obtain the water rights for themselves. These interests use any means, including scenic clubs, to delay and to prevent, if possible, any upper Colorado developments. The issue almost boils down to Echo Park dam or none.

The Bureau of Reclamation has studied the project for many years, during the Roosevelt administration as well as others, and the proposed plan does not therefore represent an Eisenhower plan, nor are the alternatives as attractive.

What the Eisenhower Administration will do with the power generated is another question. It is more likely they will give it away to the nearest private utility.

R. S. L.

Help the jobless

BRONX, N.Y.

The unemployment insurance law as constituted now is designed to starve the needy. If you quit a job you are punished and must wait seven weeks before you receive a check. Please agitate for a law that will really help the unemployed. Benefits should start from the date one loses one's job regardless of the reason. The unemployed should organize now to fight back. Sid Howard

100 carpenters out

WHITMAN, MASS.

I am a carpenter who has been unemployed most of the time since last October, having worked only seven weeks in that period. At the peak of the winter 100 of our local union members were without jobs and some 40 still haven't been able to find work as yet.

Enclosed is $1 towards my renewal that was due last November. Will send the balance along when I can. Thanks for having kept me on your mailing list. My sympathies are with the under-dog and I approve the things you are doing. Jean J. Eliefeuille

Ammo on Indo

SULLIVAN, MO.

Well, I sent for Joe Starobin's Eye-Witness in Indo-China. I read the book and I certainly recommend it to every reader of the GUARDIAN. And then when thru reading it, loan it out to others; don't stick it up in your book shelf to gather dust. Keep it in circulation. L. K. England

The boiling point

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

This is being written in answer to the letter you published to the "Attention of Coffee Lovers" (signed by Carolyn Bohr) and verified by an editor. My husband and I are coffee lovers, but not at $1.25 and up per pound. We think you should have pushed for doing without overpriced coffee at this time, as we are doing, rather than your suggestion Martha Kaufman

P.S.: We're GUARDIAN lovers too.

Ben Probe

DETROIT, MICH.

On May 28 a voice was stilled: a voice thousands head singing "Solidarity" on the picket lines of Detroit in 1936, a voice that thousands welcomed when it was raised to oppose segregation and degradation. It was a voice that hundreds

BEN PROBE

of our little citizens loved to hear each Christmastide as it boomed out from behind the whiskers and red suit of Santa Claus; a gleeful voice announcing his full house, his trout catch, his deer bag; a joking voice in alibi. It was a challenging and angry voice that met the snoopers and witch-hunters bent on deporting those finding refuge on our shores.

Little did that voice realize or care about the toll of its vigor, the penalty of the day-by-day wear and tear, the rigors of the continuous and never-ending pressure of reaction's war against freedom. On May 28 this voice quivered and was silent. Thus ended the life of Bernard Probe, called "Ben," husband to Marion, father to Judith and Kenneth, president of the Detroit Lawyers' Guild, organizer of labor [UAW-CIO], defender of the oppressed, friend of the common man.

A group of his friends

Canada-born Ben Probe, 45, a Detroiter since 1925, labor and civil rights attorney, and one-time secretary-treasurer of the Michigan State CIO, had a heart attack May 22, died May 28 in Florence Crittenton Hospital. Funeral services were held Tuesday, June 1, in Visitation Church, with burial in Roseland Cemetery.

Question for Mr. Dulles

BRONX, N.Y.

In advancing his idea that the UN should supervise and control elections in Germany, Korea and Indo-China, Mr. Dulles sounds like a veritable apostle of democracy. Only through such supervision and control, he insists, can the peoples of the countries mentioned be guaranteed elections that are truly free and democratic.

I suggest that Mr. Dulles be asked if he would be in favor of inviting the UN to supervise and control elections in Mississippi, Georgia, Alabama and the other Southern states where white supremacy rules. Taxation without representation, we have been taught is tyranny; and it is a matter of cold fact that the over ten million Negro American who live in the South are totally without representation in Congress. L. Hartman

How crazy can you get dept.

There is another possible effect. Walter E. Hoadley, Jr., economist, told the U.S. Chamber of Commerce that the H-bomb may create a "tendency of many individuals to adopt a shorter-term outlook on life."

This, he said, may lead to spending more for immediate comforts and to saving less for the future, which in turn would stimulate production.

—Pasadena (Calif.) Independent, May 7.

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Winner: H. H. W. Martindale, Pasadena.

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Requesting us to serve your need for oil,
To help you sell the products of your soil—
And you can take your choice of all our line
Of tools for murder, absolutely free.

Hugh Hardyman

Tell Congress — Tell Everybody

While Sen. Mike Mansfield (D-Mont.) has charged that Washington has launched a campaign to "educate the American people" for intervention in Indo-China, a broad section of the most conservative U.S. opinion is expressing serious doubts about our Indo-China policy. The Wall St. Journal asked (5/27): "Is Indo-China worth a full war with Communist China and perhaps with the Soviet Union?" If in an area largely populated by fervent nationalists we cannot assure their independence and freedom from communism, "what is the point of intervention? . . . We will be floundering in a war whose end we cannot see."

But the "education" goes on. We urge that all who agree with the Wall St. Journal say "aye" in a flood of letters to Congress.

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"Return good for good—and for evil, justice."
—CHINESE PROVERB.

REPORT TO READERS

One Sunday afternoon in June is all we ask

JUNE BRINGS THE ROSES, but it also ushers in the annual thorny season for your humble servant, the GUARDIAN. So now, while you're planning your summer, we have a neighborly request to make:

We'd like you to give us one sunny Sunday afternoon this summer, for a picnic, a barbeque, a beach party or just some folks lolling around on the crabgrass with a frosted glass within reach. Or, if an evening might be better, how about a pot-luck supper (we can get you our friend Alex's Beef Stroganoff recipe, the best we know of in the so-called Free World).

Whatever fits your summer program will fit ours splendidly, thank you. And whatever you need to make the event enjoyable, we'll gladly try to supply. But mostly, "do it yourself" tricks will suffice.

FOR EXAMPLE, our Malvina Reynolds in the California Bay Area is a rather noted songsmith and some of her liltiest words and music are in the new People's Songbook, **Lift Every Voice** (price $1.50, People's Artists Inc., 124 W. 21st St., N. Y. C. 11). A songfest out of **Lift Every Voice** will bring to your lawn or living-room the same zesty songs Pete Seeger, Earl Robinson, Ernie Lieberman, Betty Sanders, Hope Foye and the rest of our top artists are singing today, all over this land.

If you can't find a guitar-plunker or if the piano is out of tune, a little dime-store mouth organ will be enough to get everybody in the same key.

Or, if you're one of the lucky ones who has already obtained the new Paul Robeson album, **Let Freedom Sing**, your friends can be assured of the best treat in the U.S.A.

AS FOR US, we always need the wherewithal to pay the rent and the printer, but we'd rather have it in terms of renewals and new readers than any other way.

So our circulation department has worked out a "Prepaid Sub Blank" to be given to people as receipts for contributions. They are for $1 introductory subs, to be filled out and mailed in whenever a new trial subscriber can be signed up.

We'll send you a supply of these on request, as receipts for contributions. As for the contributions, there are enjoyable ways to supplement collection speeches, such as penny and nickel progressive auctions and other devices which we'd be glad to pass on to you if you'll just drop us a line.

IN SUM, we want everybody to have a pleasant, fruitful summer—including us. And by the way, if you're touring our way this summer, please don't fail to drop in at the GUARDIAN office. There's nothing we enjoy more than meeting friendly faces over the office water-cooler. —THE EDITORS

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WAR & PEACE

Britain plays critical role in tug-o'-war at Geneva

By Tabitha Petran

IN GENEVA there was progress toward ending the Indo-China war; in Washington there were new strivings to expand it. The conference favored a British compromise under which military commanders would negotiate "disposition of forces" throughout Indo-China after a cease-fire—thus by-passing Washington's efforts to exclude Laos and Cambodia and opening a door to similar talks on political and control arrangements. But the Administration was still conditioning Americans for intervention: Adm. Carney, Naval Operations chief and U.S. spokesman on the current five-power S.E. Asia military talks, called for preventive war on China in a "fight or else" speech.

Thailand's appeal to the UN Security Council for a Peace Observation Commission was admittedly inspired by Washington to win UN sanction for intervention. A U.S.-French agreement—reported near signature—to give the U.S. the right to train native troops would take Washington a long step into the war.

The race between peacemakers in Geneva and warmakers in Washington was close as British and socialist-world diplomacy labored for a settlement.

MODERATE DEMANDS: One fact rigid censorship could not hide: the Viet Minh were winning the war. **France Soir**'s Michael Gordey quoted correspondents recently in Indo-China as reporting the French position "so precarious that the fatal blow could come even before the end of the monsoon season in October" (**Nation**, 5/22). The strength and size of the Viet Minh delegation was Geneva's biggest surprise, wrote R. H. S. Crossman (**New Statesman**, 5/22):

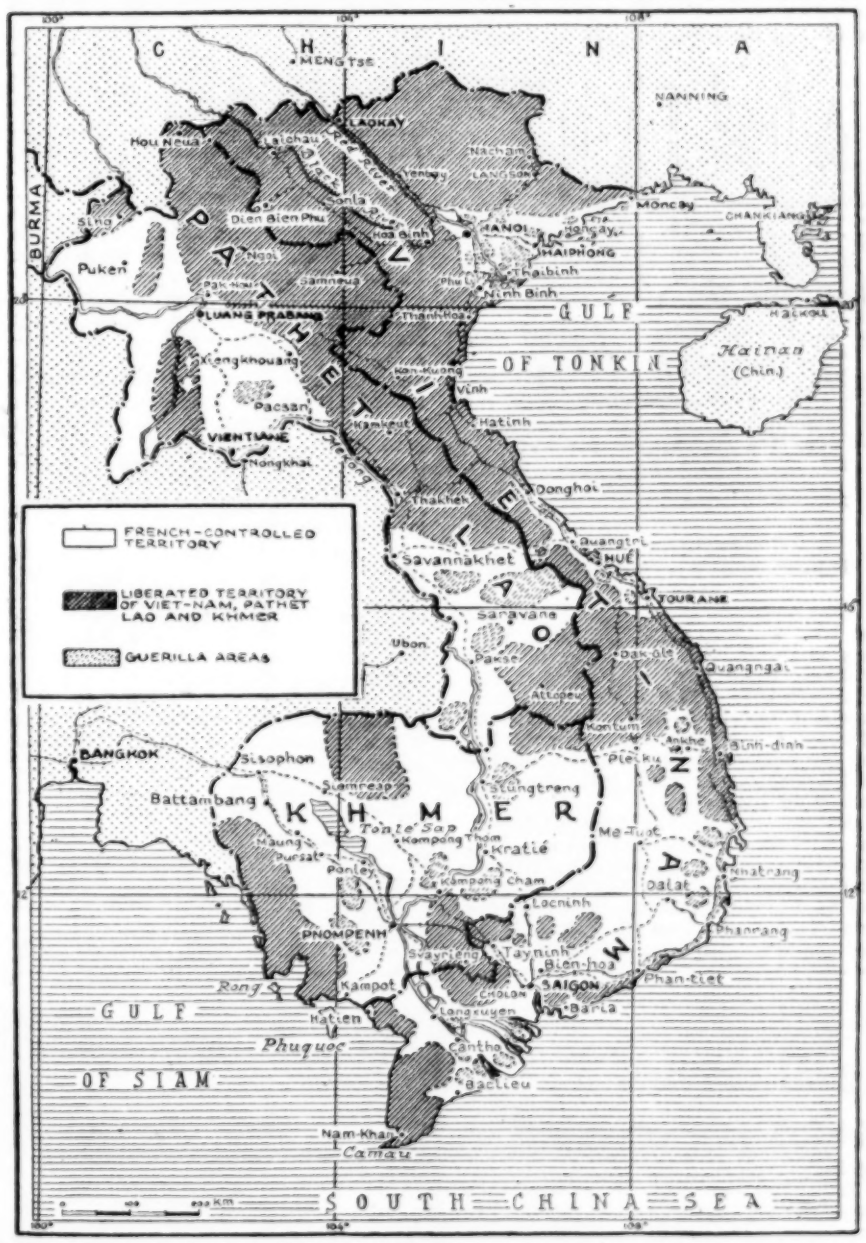
> "Viet Minh is a power in its own right—the fourth country in the world where Communists have won by their own power instead of riding to power on an invading army."

Yet Viet Minh peace terms, which envisage independence of all Indo-China with economic and cultural ties to France within the French Union, were reasonable. Its concessions forced the French Cabinet to order its delegation to negotiate on the basis of the Viet Minh plan, led to acceptance of the British compromise. In light of Washington's appropriation of the French puppet Bao Dai, **Tribune des Nations** said that for France it was a choice between salvaging something with Ho Chi Minh or nothing with Bao.

PROPOSALS ON KOREA: Socialist-world proposals on Korea were equally hard to reject. N. Korea's request for withdrawal of all foreign troops, a commission with equal N. and S. Korean representation to hold elections, a neutral nations commission to supervise them, seemed "to neutral Asians a reasonable and a fair plan for the reunification of Korea" (N.Y. **Times**, 5/29). Not even U.S. allies could accept the Washington-backed S. Korean proposal, which would leave U.S. troops there during elections while removing Chinese troops from the North and not even guaranteeing S. Korean agreement to all-Korean elections.

Thailand's plan to end the Korean talks, and turn negotiations over to a seven-power commission, reflected Western inability to agree on a plan and failure of Washington's efforts to blame the socialist world for breaking up the talks.

EDEN & PIUS: Britain's mediating role has exercised some restraint on Washington; Foreign Secy. Eden's recent suggestion of a time-limit on the talks was apparently a *quid pro quo* for a less feverish Washington line.



NOTE: "Pathet Lao"; Laos; "Khmer"; Cambodia — Shitse Chihshih, China

This is Indo-China today

Some aid came from the Vatican which was reported seeing compromise and co-existence with communism as "lesser evils than recourse to, or even the threat of, what the Pope calls 'ABC' war—atomic, biological, chemical" (Frank Gorrell, **New Republic**, 5/24). Reporting from Rome, Gorrell saw condemnation of "massive retaliation" in the Pope's recent statement that first use of ABC weapons by a warring nation cannot be justified on the ground of "legitimate self-defense." He added:

> "When U.S. statemen talk of saving or losing Asia, the implication is—in Asia—that the West is still the owner and master. Far Eastern experts at the Vatican assert that such an impression can scarcely be removed by replacing French colonialism in Indo-China with a European-American 'protectorate' of the whole continent. There is no doubt that Pandit Nehru's views are more acceptable in the Cortile San Samaso than President Eisenhower's. . . ."

ANGLO-CHINESE MOVES: British efforts at Geneva seemed to be part of a developing policy for closer relations with the socialist world. The Labour Party's decision to send a delegation to China in August, headed by former Premier Attlee and his rival Aneurin Bevan, would hardly have been taken if the Churchill government were opposed. The decision, commented **Le Monde** (5/28), "reflects the British people's almost unanimous desire" and shows the gulf between British and U.S. attitudes on China. The State Dept. was "fearful and angry in private," especially because—except for Bevan—the delegation is made up of strong pro-Americans (N.Y. **Herald Tribune**, 5/30).

Some signs of the turn in British relations with the socialist world were: "extremely warm and cordial" trade talks between two British MP's—a Labourite and a Tory—and China's Foreign Minister Chou En-lai; the Board of Trade report of more than $112 million in Soviet orders in Britain in the past year; a Soviet invitation to British firms to advertise in Soviet journals; a Soviet suggestion, on the 12th anniversary of the Anglo-Soviet alliance, that Britain join the U.S.S.R. in a common effort for peace and business contracts. Pressure for this turn came from below, and was also seen in the "revulsion" against German rearmament and conscription (**NYT**, 5/23)—"so great" that at the September Labour Party conference "both measures will be reviewed."

"EDUCATION" FOR WAR: Against these developments stood the French government's success in keeping the war going, while Washington "aches to intervene" (**NR**, 5/31). Americans were being "educated" without let-up for war in Asia. One day it was revealed that defense officials were pressing the President to order printing of more than 20 million ration books "needed in the event of all-out war"; another, that the White House, State Dept., Pentagon, Central Intelligence Agency were placing before small groups of Congressmen "specific and definite information of the immediate communist strategy"—including a "secret timetable of Communist conquest" allegedly prepared by Mao Tse-tung. This was read into the Congressional Record by Senate Majority leader Knowland, and according to John O'Donnell (N.Y. **Daily News**, 6/1) has already "had a powerful effect" on Capitol Hill and shifted the odds in favor of participation in a shooting war.

Meanwhile conservative sources like the **Wall St. Journal** and Walter Millis have repeatedly pointed out that there are no military or political objectives Washington can achieve by intervention in Asia.

TOWARD INSANITY: Yet the forces impelling Washington to war are real and menacing. One is the fear of economic crisis. The Guaranty Trust Co.'s June Survey of Business suggested that recent scattered signs of business revival arise from the possibility of war in the Far East. Business thinking is geared to a several-billion-dollar kick-up in the arms budget. Secy. Humphrey's recent pledge to cut the budget next year was qualified by a promise that "security comes first," and according to **BW** (5/29) could not be interpreted as a rejection of plans to increase military spending but rather as "a warning to the Reds."

Another is the inexorable logic of the arms race. Beyond the U.S.S.R.'s achievement of A- and H-bombs and intercontinental bombers, Joseph & Stewart Alsop in a **NYHT** series pointed to its superior progress in rocket and hydrogen-rocket development. Within the premises of the arms race—which Moscow continually presses to halt—the logical conclusion is a "preventive war" before the U.S. loses its claimed military superiority. The Alsops (5/28) reported "quite serious talk about a 'preventive showdown' with the Soviet Union . . . in high quarters." Walter Millis (5/27) wrote:

> "In the whole field of military action we are reaching a point of no return. . . . The whole makes a picture not of military or any other kind of statesmanship but of sheer insanity."

Guatemala story

(Continued from Page 1)

Guatemalans to revolt (**NYT**, 5/5). On May 27, a C-47 plane showered Guatemala City with anti-government leaflets, asking people to join with Armas to overthrow the government. "If they could drop paper leaflets one day," Toriello observed, "they could drop other things, too."

Armed bands tried to blow up two trainloads of military equipment being sent from Puerto Barrios to Guatemala City (**NYT**, 5/30). On May 31, the Guatemalan government announced discovery of another plot to overthrow it and arrested a number of plotters; others took asylum in the Ecuador and El Salvador embassies.

"IF DESIRE EXISTS": Mexico, which has the largest border with Guatemala, remained unperturbed; clearly Guatemala, with only 6,000 troops and a population equal to Brooklyn, could menace neither its neighbors nor the Canal. Washington was presumably panicked by the fact that, despite its strenuous opposition, Guatemala had shown other Latin American countries the possibility of buying arms for defense as well as capital goods for economic development from socialist countries.

The Guatemalan government remained calm throughout. Said President Arbenz:

> ". . . A meeting between President Eisenhower and me, if it should take place, could help alleviate the current tense situation in Central America, if a desire to hold it exists on both sides."

See photo, p. 4.

The Lorwin Affair: Case history of a McCarthy fraud

By Lawrence Emery

IN THE NEW DEAL days of 1935 Val R. Lorwin, a young economist, went to work for the government, eventually became a division chief in the State Dept. In his youth he was a Socialist and a follower of Norman Thomas, has described himself as always being vigorously anti-Communist. But in the Truman era of 1948 he was caught up in the endless security investigations of the Fair Deal.

He weathered most of them, but in 1951 was suspended while new and undisclosed charges against him were studied. A year later he was reinstated with back pay; in June, 1952, he was pronounced "cleared" but that decision was still subject to review by the President's Loyalty Board. By this time Lorwin had had enough; he resigned and took a post with Chicago University which he still holds.

CASE NO. 54: But Lorwin's name turned up on Sen. McCarthy's list of "communists" in the State Dept.; McCarthy first identified him in a Senate speech in 1951, two years later called him "Case No. 54" among 81 persons he cited. McCarthy's charges were investigated by a Senate subcommittee headed by former Sen. Tydings (D-Md.) and were declared fraudulent.

On Dec. 14 last year Lorwin was indicted by a federal grand jury on three counts of perjury for denying Communist Party membership during a loyalty hearing in 1950. He was the first and only person on the McCarthy list ever to be brought to court. McCarthy was jubilant:

"This is another case about whom the Tydings Committee said my evidence was a fraud and a hoax."

Said Lorwin:

"The charges are wholly false. The State Dept. Loyalty Board completely cleared me on the basis of testimony I and approximately 90 corroborating witnesses produced. It is disheartening to have to fight this question once again, but at least a hearing in open court will finally demonstrate that I never had any membership in the Communist Party or any sympathy for it."

ONE WITNESS: When the case came to court early this month strange things began to happen. Lorwin had engaged for his counsel F. Joseph Donohue, former special federal prosecutor in the government's unsuccessful trial of Harry Bridges on a perjury charge. Prosecuting Lorwin was William Gallagher, a Justice Dept. trial attorney. The State Dept. had provided Lorwin with a transcript of of the 1950 loyalty hearing containing the testimony of 91 witnesses (including Norman Thomas) who appeared in his behalf.

Herblock in Washington Post

"I hear there's something wrong with your morale."

Not included in the transcript was the testimony of the one witness who appeared against Lorwin. By deduction, Lorwin finally identified this person as Harold W. Metz, old-time personal friend who had once shared living quarters with him. Metz was formerly employed by the Republican Natl. Comm., is now a research director for the Hoover Commission. In court Lorwin demanded the transcript of Metz's testimony; Judge Edward M. Curran so ordered.

On May 19 the government had still not complied with the order; Prosecutor Gallagher argued that the document was "confidential" and that the government would not make it available "merely to allow the defense attorney to prepare cross-examination."

THE SACRIFICIAL GOAT: Judge Curran was angered; thumping his desk, he said: "The government shall produce that document."

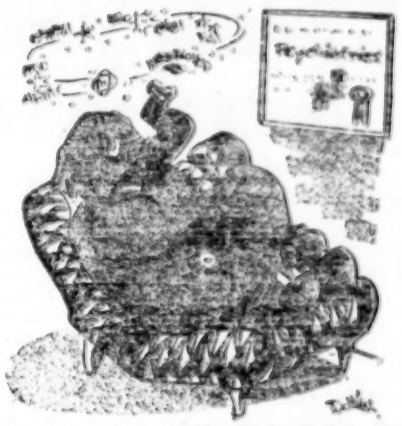
He gave the prosecutor five days to bring it into court. On May 24, the deadline, Gallagher failed to comply. Defense attorney Donohue promptly announced that he would either ask that Atty. Gen. Brownell be cited for contempt of court, or that the indictment be dismissed. Next day, May 25, the government itself moved for dismissal of the indictment, which was granted. Brownell had succeeded in preserving the secrecy of his "confidential" document; to do so he made a sacrifice of his trial attorney Gallagher, who has been with the Department since 1951.

In court Asst. Atty. Gen. Warren Olney 3d, chief of the Criminal Div., told Judge Curran that Gallagher had obtained the indictment by misrepresentation before the Grand Jury. He said two witnesses Gallagher promised would corroborate Metz's testimony did not exist, and that Gallagher was wrong in assuring the Grand Jury that it was pointless to call Lorwin because he would invoke the Fifth Amendment.

The Justice Dept. announced Gallagher's suspension.

THE HOAX IS DEAD: For one thing, the government's unexpected move marked the final collapse of the McCarthy hoax of communists in the State Dept.; said Donohue:

"The Justice Dept. presents one case out of 81, and it is promptly thrown out of court. It makes me wonder about the other 80."



Dobbins in Boston Post

"It started the November before last."

Others wondered about the strange procedures of Brownell's department. On May 27 Gallagher made public written instructions from his superiors to disobey the court order to produce the forbidden document:

"You are instructed not to produce this document in court."

Brownell said such instructions are common in matters awaiting his decision, but a former chief of the criminal division called it "unprecedented."

Gallagher announced his resignation, but Brownell said Gallagher was fired: "He has been discharged for his irregularities."

On May 27 Sen. Thomas C. Hennings (D-Mo.) called on the Senate Judiciary Committee to investigate this "sordid miscarriage of justice":

"We must learn what policies Atty. Gen. Brownell follows that would permit this disgraceful event to occur, and what were the pressures that Gallagher must have been under to have acted in this shocking manner."

AS AMNESTY MONTH OPENS

St. Louis Smith Act trial convicts 5; 7 Connecticut CP leaders are arrested

ON the eve of Amnesty Month—a nationwide effort to obtain amnesty for the 101 persons already in jail, convicted or indicted under the Smith Act—a St. Louis jury found guilty the five who have been on trial there, and the government rounded up seven new victims, leaders of the Communist Party in Connecticut.

The St. Louis verdict came after 135 minutes of jury deliberation and examination of "exhibits" in evidence (210 books, pamphlets, resolutions etc.), ending 46 days of testimony covering four months. The jurors dispersed hastily, refusing to be photographed; one of them, James V. Hogan, said he didn't "want to sit on this type of case again."

ACTIONS FOR AMNESTY

1 WRITE A LETTER, either individually or with others, to President Eisenhower, asking that he grant amnesty to the Smith Act prisoners.

2 ASK ORGANIZATIONS to which you belong to discuss the question, and to write to President Eisenhower urging amnesty.

Federal Judge Roy W. Harper set June 4 for sentencing, meanwhile granting bail to defendants James Forest, 44, Missouri CP chairman, and his wife Dorothy, 39; Robert Manewitz, 37, trade unionist; Marcus Murphy, 46, Negro, former sharecropper; William Sentner, 47, labor leader for 22 years in St. Louis and the Midwest.

"SECRET MEETINGS": The roundup of Connecticut CP leaders was staged in New York and New Haven. They were, according to FBI agents making the arrests: Joseph Diman, 34, Conn. party secy. and press director; Robert C. Ekins, 46, World War II veteran and former secy.; Jacob Goldring, 39, member state committee; Alfred L. Marder, 32, former chairman of New Haven, Hartford, Fairfield Co. sections; Sidney S. Resnick, 32, Labor Youth League; Simon Silverman, 38, former state chairman; James S. Tate, 43, former party organizer in Chicago.

The N.Y. Times quoted the FBI as saying that Ekins, Goldring and Silverman, arrested in New York, had been holding secret meetings "to avoid detection." The Daily Worker quoted Simon Gerson, legislative representative of N.Y. State CP, as saying Goldring four days earlier had held a press conference in New Haven at which Gerson was present:

"He outlined the party program, main points of which were to defeat McCarthyism, no intervention in Indo-China, an anti-depression program, and enforcement of civil rights legislation."

Goldring told reporters he had distributed by mail to legislators copies of the CP draft program.

The Worker said the FBI's "Diman" is Dimow. It quoted the men's attorney, Marvin Karp, as saying that each has a wife and two children.

ANASTASIO THROUGH THE MAGNIFYING GLASS

Gen. Anastasio Somoza, dictator of Nicaragua and defender of non-existent democracy in Central Ameria, examined a "hammer and sickle" on a gun which he said was part of a cache deposited on Nicaragua's Pacific coast by "a mysterious submarine." Quick, Watson, the clothespin!

REMEMBER THE ROSENBERGS
First Anniversary of Their Death
JUSTICE FOR MORTON SOBELL
Free Him From Alcatraz

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THURSDAY, JUNE 17th, 8 P.M.
CHATEAU GARDENS, 105 E. Houston St. (at 2nd Av.)
Tickets at $1, incl. tax, available at National Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell in the Rosenberg Case, 1050 Sixth Av. LO 4-9585

IT WILL BE ONE YEAR ON JUNE 19

Rosenberg memorial meetings all over U.S.

JUNE 19 will mark a year since Ethel and Julius Rosenberg died in the electric chair. In New York City a memorial meeting will be held Thurs. Eve., June 17, at Chateau Gardens, 105 Houston St. near Second Av. Other memorial meetings will be held in Los Angeles, Chicago, Detroit, San Francisco, Baltimore and other cities.

The meetings will emphasize the campaign to win a new trial for Morton Sobell, young scientist sentenced to 30 years as a "co-consiprator" in the Rosenberg case, but who was not charged with possessing or imparting any knowledge of atom-bomb "secrets." Nationwide circulation of petitions calling for Sobell's removal from Alcatraz prison is now getting under way. Addressed to James V. Bennett, director of the Federal Bureau of Prisons, the petitions state:

"Law and custom have established Alcatraz as a prison for criminals who, by the number or violence of their crimes, their attempts at escape, by attacks on prison guards, must be kept in extreme isolation. . . . Mr. Sobell does not fit into any of the categories of prisoners kept in Alcatraz. He has never been charged with any previous crime. We believe that imprisonment of Morton Sobell at Alcatraz is an unusual and unprecedented punishment. We therefore respectfully petition that Morton Sobell be transferred to a regular federal institution."

FT. MONMOUTH HOAX: The meetings will also protest assertions by Sen. McCarthy and his counsel Roy Cohn, during the current hearings, that a "Rosenberg-Sobell spy ring" still exists at Fort Monmouth. The Natl. Comm. to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell in the Rosenberg Case recently requested that a statement by Sobell last December be inserted in the record of the hearing:

"I have heard from my attorneys and read in the magazines that Sen. McCarthy is using the charge of association with me as a threat against other scientists. The same methods and personnel are now being used by Sen. McCarthy as were used by the Atty. Gen.'s office to bring about my conviction. This continuation and broadening out of the spy scare can only result in the same terrible consequences to other innocent people as it has already had for me. . . Even three and one-half years in prison have not shaken my faith that I was right in telling the truth of my innocence even if it meant being sent to Alcatraz. As soon as the American people understand that the same methods which are now being so vigorously denounced were used to bring about my unjust conviction, I will be vindicated."

SENATE PROBE ASKED: The memorial meetings will also press for action on a pending request that the Senate Judiciary Committee investigate the conduct of the Atty. General's office in the Rosenberg case.

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CALENDAR

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Chicago

FRIENDS OF MANDEL TERMAN Keep open Sat., June 26, for huge dinner-tribute to Mandel, arranged by group of friends. Watch for details lat'r. B. Brail, Chairman of Committee.

REMEMBER THE ROSENBERGS—JUSTICE FOR MORTON SOBELL! Rosenberg Memorial Meeting. Presiding: Miss Pearl Hart, Prof. Stephen Love, Prof. Malcolm Sharp, Rabbi S. Burr Yampol. Thurs., June 17, 8:15 p.m., Curtiss Hall, 410 S. Michigan Av. Adm. $1. Ausp: Chicago Rosenberg-Sobell Comm.

COME AND HEAR GEORGE MARION Fri., June 11, 8:30 p.m., at Woodrow Wilson Room, 116 So. Michigan Av. Donation: $1.

Detroit

YURI SUHL WILL SPEAK at a Memorial Meeting for Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, to be held on Wed., June 16, 8:30 p.m., at 5028 Joy Road (Rainbow Hall).

Los Angeles

ANNUAL MEETING, Community Medical Foundation, Fri., June 25, 8 p.m. Channing Hall, 2936 W. 8th. Robert Peck, M.D. (former Air Force doctor - private, now Community Medical Center staff doctor.) Entertainment: AL HAMMER - ERNIE LIEBERMAN. Public invited—no admission charge.

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EQUALITY?

News Item: **Supreme Court Outlaws Jim Crow Schools.**

News Item, same day: **Alabama Planters Convicted of Slave-holding.** Runaway Died of Beating. (Note on news item: Slave-holding is not a capital crime. Murder is.)

THE SUPREME COURT has been forced to declare school segregation unconstitutional. Some years ago, it "outlawed" restrictive covenants. **Has Harlem disappeared, or Chicago's South Side, or any other ghetto, North or South?** Do Northern Negro children go to unsegregated schools, or do they go to schools **where they live—in segregated communities?**

If the Supreme Court **really** outlawed segregated housing, would that end ghettoes? Not so long as Negroes are kept in jobs averaging **half** the pay of whites, and not so long as they must take inferior housing they can ill afford. (Today, with legal ghettoes, they pay **more** for **worse** housing, North and South.)

If **all** segregation and discrimination in jobs, housing and everything else were done away with **tomorrow**, would **that** create true equality? Not so long as Negroes remain the tenants and laborers of Southern agriculture, which remains their basic source of livelihood.

Seven hundred dollars a year is the median income of Negro farm families. It is only **one-third** that of white farm families. How many years can a family earning so little—**$13 a week—afford** to let its children go to school? What kind of a job is a boy or girl with a grade school education—or less—qualified to take? **How EQUAL is a family living on $36 a week** (the national median for Negroes, city and country), **with one having twice as much?** Only when the Negroes in the South own the land they till—and own as **much** per family as whites, and as **good** land as whites—will the axe be put to the **root** of Negro inequality.

And even when this is done, whites will still have the advantage of generations of better education and living standards behind them. It will take **extra** appropriations for the maintenance of Negro pupils, preference in moving into new housing as it is built, and similar advantages in every field of life to make good the difference, or inequality will remain.

The American Federation of Labor proposal for a billion-dollar Federal fund to aid Southern education is a wonderful step in the right direction. Let's make it a reality. And then let's see that Negro children are helped by it not **less** than whites, not **equally**, but **more**, so as to make up the backlog of inequality from which they now suffer.

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SO FAR SO GOOD . . . AND THE UNSPOKEN "WHAT NEXT?"

How Negro press sees the Supreme Court decision

By Eugene Gordon

THROUGH tough, tense days of 1949-51 in Clarendon County, S. C., John H. McCray "stood with our folks"—Negro pupils and their parents whose appeals to the county school board for better bus service, to the education board to "equalize opportunities," had been ignored. Represented by the Natl. Assn. for Advancement of Colored People, they fought from the lowest to the highest court. Now, "in their hour of triumph" following the Supreme Court's May 17 ruling in their behalf—writes McCray in the Baltimore **Afro-American** (5/29)—he was eager to be among them. So he returned to Clarendon:

> "I had expected to find jubilance, plenty of easy talk, and maybe a celebration or two. I didn't. . . . There was talk of the case . . . but it was sober, serious, and with the attitude of 'So far, so good.' The unspoken 'What next?' was the understood watchword. Many [Negro parents] have already begun instructing their children how to behave [when 'integration' comes]. They want no trouble."

N.Y. **Amsterdam News** columnist Lester B. Granger, writing from Little Rock (5/29), also noted that "Negro citizens were pleased but less jubilant" than expected:

> "They realized soberly that the decision of the court made possible a revolution in Southern affairs, but [as to 'What next?', guaranteed nothing] without continued hard work, deep thinking, unified action."

TIME TO ADJUST? Dr. John B. Henderson in the Norfolk **Journal & Guide** (5/29) answered "What next?" with a plea that the Negro temporary-winner in this 90-year struggle for "first-class citizenship," having left his opponent "stunned and dazed," now give him "a little time to collect his wits and get adjusted"—but remind him "there is a limit set for the time he can take."

But a **J & G** reporter wrote from Atlanta that when local NAACP leader Austin T. Walden "asked that suits seeking admission of Negro students to white schools be held up pending the Supreme Court's further hearings next fall," he was

> ". . . roundly denounced by Assn. secy. Walter White, who said, in part, in a scathing statement: '. . . No leaders, white or Negro, who talk about keeping things as they are will be leaders long.' "

DR. RALPHE BUNCHE

In a speech in Syracuse, N.Y., May 1, Dr. Ralphe Bunche (above), director of the UN Trusteeship Dept., Nobel Peace Prize winner, said that the U.S. "was actually a colonial nation itself . . . although the country did not like to acknowledge that fact." On May 25 and again on May 27 Dr. Bunche was put through 12-hour grillings by the President's board investigating the loyalty of U.S. citizens in international organizations. Whether there was a connection between the speech and the inquisition, none could say authoritatively. A leak disclosed the questioning and a world-wide protest descended overnight on the board—and on Washington. On May 28 Dr. Bunche was unanimously declared loyal. He has had no comment on the affair.

HE WAS A PLAINTIFF

Spottswood Bolling, 15, with his mother, reads the story of the court action. He was one of five in Washington, D.C., who tested the school segregation issue.

NAACP special counsel Thurgood Marshall added that no delay in ending the dual school systems was expected in Arkansas, Delaware, Dist. of Columbia, Kentucky, Maryland, Oklahoma and "possibly Texas." He was prepared "in a reasonable time" to move legally against the remaining 10 states. He simultaneously disclosed NAACP intention to demand "integration of all phases of school operation, including teacher assignments."

PERIL TO TEACHERS: The Chicago **Defender's** Enoc P. Waters Jr., telling of a Negro teacher's plaint that outlawing jimcrow public schools meant "the end of her career," explained:

> "It was her belief that integration of public schools automatically eliminates Negro teachers, since she could not conceive of Negroes teaching whites in the South."

Conceding such fears justified, Waters said that "under an integrated system in the South," according to "rumors," the Negro teacher would be eliminated "as unnecessary or as a reprisal; owing to low 'education' qualifications; or because the South won't allow Negroes to teach whites."

He replied as to the first: "The South cannot afford to fire one teacher as unnecessary, integration or not," and cited government statistics to prove an excessive "load" borne by each teacher. "The area of job qualification which is the basis of fear No. 2, is, of course, very real," requirements for Negro teachers having been relaxed "in states and localities" where school officials are unconcerned "about the education of Negro children." The third fear cannot be dissipated by "statistics." The "only yardstick" for measuring reactions to new situations "is experience," and that is what the NAACP is pledged to fight for.

TO THANK OR NOT THANK: The Pittsburgh **Courier** asked, Fight whom? Negroes, instead, "should . . . thank God for changing the hearts of men since Plessy v. Ferguson in 1896, when the 'separate but equal' doctrine was established" (GUARDIAN, 12/14/53). After that, they should thank the Supreme Court justices who "leaned on God in making their decision," and President Eisenhower. All churches should set aside June 6 as "a day of prayer and thanksgiving for this newly won freedom." Ministers should urge every congregation member to send a grateful letter or wire to Atty. Gen. Brownell. But **Courier** exec. editor P. L. Prattis wrote in the same issue:

> "I know that only the constant pressures of Negroes, their organizations, and their white friends, aided by forces operating throughout the world today, have won any measurable relaxation of restrictions against the Negro as a citizen of this country."

Afro-American reader Arthur Morris wrote from New Orleans of "the time and God-given talent that has been lost"; added unthankfully that the decision "should have been made back in 1896 when that fraudulent 'separate but equal' doctrine was drawn up." In the same column Bill Sanders, from Washington, seemed to agree with the London Labourite **Daily Herald's** estimate that the U.S. government, professing innocence of colonial oppression, has been forced to see the Negro question "for what it is—a colonial problem within its own borders." Reader Sanders thought the high court, "with the eyes of the world upon it, could not have ruled otherwise."

"I TOOK MY FOOT OFF": In the Chicago **Defender**, Langston Hughes' argumentative Simple spoke his mind:

> "Don't you think it's wonderful that the Supreme Court has banned segregation in the public schools?" I asked.
>
> "It's about time," said Simple.
>
> "You don't sound very enthusiastic," I said. "Of course the time is long overdue. But now that it's done, it IS something which American democracy can be proud of."
>
> "White folks are proud," said Simple. "But I don't see nothing for them to be proud of just doing what they ought to do. If they was doing something extra, yes, then be proud. But Negroes have a right to go to decent schools just like everybody else. So what's there to be proud of in that they are just now letting us in? They ought to be ashamed of themselves for keeping us out so long. I might have had a good education myself had it not of been for white folks. If they want something to be proud of let them pay me for all the education I ain't got . . . it's just like you have had your foot on a man's head. You finally take your foot off and say: 'AIN'T I WONDERFUL! I DONE TOOK MY FOOT OFF YOUR HEAD!' I'll be dogged if I see anything so wonderful about that!"

POSTPONED JOY: "And when shall there be joy?" asked **J & G** columnist Francis H. Mitchell. He answered:

> "If by joy you mean a happy, shouting, dancing, wild abandon, it shall never be. If by joy you mean a blissful unawareness that life and work and debt and suffering lie hidden in each tomorrow, that too shall never be. . . . There will be joy, but not for those who have like tender saplings been warped by constant wind and cease to strain to stand upright again. Joy will come when work is done—when white and black alike have bent their backs in labor—not to set aright the world for those to whom harm has come in errors past, for that was yesterday. Joy will come when work is done—joy will come tomorrow."

A 10-day workshop on "Racial Integration in American Schools" was annouced by Howard University (D.C.) to begin June 22, where "an analysis of the present status of judicial decisions and legal action and trend toward integration of the Negro in the life of the nation" would be made. Meanwhile, according to another Negro press item, despite the Supreme Court's decision education officials at Conway, S.C., were "going ahead with the construction of two new Negro schools."

Lester Granger in the **Amsterdam News** thought it was time to define terms:

> "To **desegregate** a situation means removing barriers, generally legal, that have prevented the races from getting together. To **integrate** a situation means a voluntary coming together of participants of both sides. This second step is possible only after the first step has been taken. The Supreme Court decision makes the first step possible."

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ROTTEN LOGS FOR THE FREE WORLD RAFT

These are 'our' allies in Asia and the Pacific

By Kumar Goshal

American diplomacy as to Indo-China . . . has resembled a man trying to get a firm footing on small floating logs. . . . Eventually he may be able to lash enough of them together to make a raft which will bear his weight and can be propelled to where he wants to go.
—Ernest K. Lindley, Newsweek, 5/31.

With proper Asiatic nations . . . and Australia and New Zealand [we] might possibly work out something [without Britain] that would be maybe not as satisfactory or as broad as you would like it, but would be, could be, workable.
—President Eisenhower, press conference, May 19.

THE "proper Asiatic" logs at hand for a raft propelling Washington to armed intervention in S.E. Asia were Bao Dai's Vietnam, the French puppet princes of Laos and Cambodia, the Philippines, Chiang Kai-shek's Formosa and Thailand. The question: could such a raft bear Uncle Sam's weight?

Trud, Moscow
"Where's this People's China? We don't see it."

Bao Dai—World War II Japanese collaborator and Riviera playboy with a fat income from gambling houses—found a way to bring his government's unpopularity to a new peak: he appointed as police chief Lau Hun Sang of the Binh Xuyen gangster organization which controls gambling and "the main enterprises historically affiliated with gambling" around Saigon (N.Y. **Herald Tribune**, 5/20). Vietnamese conscripted into his French army units have been voting so heavily with their feet that their recruitment and training has been virtually halted (**New Statesman**, 5/15). Peking's **Hsinhua** reported (5/6) that 10,000 of them went over to the Viet Minh in the first three months of 1954.

Liberation forces now control more than half of Laos (see map, p. 7), and about 1/5 of "politically wobbly" (N.Y. **Times**, 5/26) Cambodia. Frenchmen arriving in Geneva from Hanoi agreed:

"Under free elections . . . 90% of the Vietnamese, and the majority in the rest of Indo-China, would vote against the French puppet rulers" (**New Statesman**, 5/22).

IN THE PHILIPPINES: Although President Magsaysay remained pro-U.S., hostile sentiment increased especially over Washington's claim to permanent ownership of the 23 American military bases—a claim denied by Vice-President and Foreign Affairs Secy. Carlos Garcia. The government was "unwilling to become involved in further anti-Communist actions abroad," considered "the $17 million a year it costs to keep Filipino troops in Korea as excessive and wants to withdraw them" (**U.S. News**, 5/21). In the Korea debate at Geneva, U.S. Undersecy. of State Bedell Smith prevented the Philippines delegate from making a speech and accused him of "echoing Communist theses" because, although anti-Communist, the speech did not support Syngman Rhee 100% (**Tribune des Nations**, 5/17).

A tour of the "small floating logs" to size up their military potential took U.S. Defense Secy. Wilson to the Philippines last month. Sen. Carlo Recto, a foreign-policy spokesman for Magsaysay's Nationalist Party, had urged that Wilson be told Filipino troops would defend their own soil but would not be sent to Indo-China (**NYT** 5/26).

IN THAILAND: Dictator Pibul Songgram has been carefully nursed by U.S. Ambassador (former OSS chief) William Donovan, and some of the U.S. Army's "best officers from Korea and Japan" have been sent to Thailand (**U.S. News**, 5/21). Pibul welcomed the Japanese in 1941, declared war on Britain and the U.S. in 1942, accepted the rank of Maj. Gen. in the Japanese Army and was declared a war-criminal by Thailand's first post-war government. Himself gaining power by force and violence, he continued to admire Spain's Franco and admonished Americans for having "too much freedom" (**NYT**, 11/12/50). His subjects' discontent at uncontrolled living costs, the drop in rice exports and government corruption is intense.

"Moral sanction" to enter the Indo-China war would enable Secy. Dulles to defend such governments' "independence." His concept of independence was made clear in recent press-conference answers to $64 questions on Indo-China independence posed by I. F. Stone (see his **Weekly**, 5/17). Dulles said in effect, Stone wrote, that he is

". . . against independence for Indo-China or free elections there until he feels sure its people can be counted for 'the free world.'"

IN FORMOSA, S. KOREA: Corruption, nepotism and lack of democracy in Chiang's Formosa were recently revealed by Gen. Li Tsung-jen, former Vice-President to Chiang (**NYHT**, 2/10), and by Dr. K. C. Wu, former governor of Formosa, both of whom have taken asylum in the U.S. They accused Chiang of spending millions of dollars in bribing U.S. officials; putting away government funds for his private use should he lose Formosa; transferring government funds to private persons in Britain and U.S.; holding thousands of political prisoners in Green Island; trying to establish a "dynasty" by placing his son in charge of secret police, the Youth Corps, the Army and the Army's political department.

In S. Korea's elections last month, Syngman Rhee won only a bare majority despite such strong-arm tactics that "numerous protests have been filed with UN observers" (**NYT**, 5/23). Rhee wanted a ⅔ majority in the legislature to push through amendments granting him a third term as President and permitting him to hand over state-owned industries to private firms. He was reported (L.A. **Herald-Express**, 3/22) "struggling to unloose from the backs of his people the hated burden of government ownership [of Japanese industries] transferred to . . . the ROK government," and to present them to Americans

". . . with plans . . . to invest $180 millions in manufacturing, 170 millions in power, 150 millions in transportation and 50 millions each in mines and fisheries. . . ."

IN PAKISTAN: Its larger part lying far to the West across 1,000 miles of India, Pakistan is now being grouped with "S.E. Asian nations" since it signed an agreement May 19 to receive U.S. war material and technical military aid. Its 72 million population, "strategically situated in the southern flank of Soviet Russia and China" (**NYT**, 5/23), presents a tempting source of troops for U.S. adventures in Asia.

Such hopes seemed dashed by the March elections in E. Pakistan, the country's most populous part. A united front including the Communist Party captured 222 of the 237 Assembly seats reserved for the majority of Moslems. The pro-U.S. ruling Moslem League party was virtually eliminated. The newly-elected E. Pakistan government, representing 56% of the total Pakistan population, opposed U.S. policy, supported a broad program of social and economic reform, favored collaboration with neighboring Indian territory, demanded release of all political prisoners and reconstitution of the Central Cabinet in which it should have a majority.

Panicked by these developments, Pakistan's Gov. Gen. Ghulam Mohammed dismissed E. Pakistan's new government last week, arrested 210 "key persons," sent more than 10,000 troops to fight thousands of jute and paper mill workers now on strike, declared martial law with "strong man" Defense Secy. Iskandar Mirza as E. Pakistan's Governor.

The world waited to see if Washington would get these logs lashed into a raft, and if so, how long it would float.

"Make peace or get out!"

Every voter has been urged to send that message to his elected representatives by Dr. Donald Soper, president of the British Methodist Conference, who drew 1,700 persons to a London peace service last month and afterward (see above) led his congregation in a march through the city. Dr. Soper, with several MP's, heads a largely pacifist-organized movement for "Brotherhood, not Bombs" which has roused Britain during the UN Disarmament Commission's secret talks on atomic disarming in London. Goal of the campaign: 15,000,000 signatures to a petition asking all who have the Bomb to ban it in the interest of "nothing less than the saving of civilization, perhaps of mankind." While most Americans are more scared or ignorant of the ban-the-bomb movement than of the danger of mass suicide, it is sweeping across all political lines in Europe.

AS FRANCO AGENTS TOURED U.S.

Lincoln Vets pay tribute to dead, fight McCarran Board registration

ON THE same Memorial Day week-end when the first group of officers from Franco Spain toured military installations in the U.S., the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade in their fifth national encampment in New York paid tribute to their comrades who died fighting Franco in the Spanish Civil War in 1937-38.

Several hundred of the original 3,000 who volunteered to fight fascism in Spain, at an open-air rally at Brooklyn's Brighton Beach and Coney Island Av. May 31, heard tributes from novelist Howard Fast and others. Natl. Commander Milton Wolff recalled that the first U.S. Senator to visit Franco (he called the latter a "distinguished Christian gentleman") was the same Senator who wrote the McCarran Act, under which the VALB and 263 other organizations now "listed" by the Atty. General are ordered to register as "Communist fronts."

HISTORY REWRITTEN: The VALB has refused to register. Their hearing before the McCarran Subversive Activities Control Board will resume June 7 in Washington, D.C. During the first three weeks of hearings, government witness Edward Palega admitted under cross-examination that he had joined the volunteers and gone to Spain as an agent of the Chicago "Red Squad," sending his reports through the U.S. Consulate in Madrid. Palega (now known as Sgt. Horan of Air Force Intelligence), who confessed to deserting in Spain, also reported to the Chicago squad and later to the FBI on an Iowa local of the Farm Equipment Workers Union, a Chicago food workers union, the Communist Party and Young Communist League.

The Government says it will prove through Palega's testimony that the Intl. Brigade (of which the Lincoln Brigade was a part) was formed for the purpose of "Sovietizing" the Spanish Republic. The VALB charges "evidence of collusion by the witnesses and Government to go far beyond the allegations of the Government petition to rewrite the history of the Spanish war."

In a 20-page pamphlet telling their story (free from VALB, 23 W. 26th St., N.Y.C. 10) appears a quotation pointing up the irony of the changing tide of history: The late Harold Ickes wrote the Brigade in 1946 that they were "among the first to see the menace of fascism and . . . the first to offer their lives in an effort to halt [it] . . . they deserve the best this country has to offer."

SEN. McCARRAN
Christianity undefined

UNITY IN THE UNION AND IN POLITICS TOO

Working women speak up for equality

By Ione Kramer

TRADE UNION action in the shops is not enough to fight unemployment, speedup and discrimination against women workers; women must unite on political as well as trade union issues to fight these evils—along with McCarthyism, the H-bomb and war.

This was the recurrent theme of speakers and delegates among 400 working women who gathered May 15 and 16 at New York's Hotel McAlpin for the United Electrical Workers Second Annual Conference on the Problems of Working Women.

From nearly every state came reports of the "rolling recession" threatening the security of women workers. Said Eleanor Jaffe of Local 475 UE, Bklyn:

> "Married women are being told they should not work because they have a husband to support them, and single women, because they can live with their families."

(Government statistics show that most women who work do so because they must support themselves or their families.)

"Oh, it's for an extremely practical purpose, Doctor . . . Men's wage rates are higher than women's. . . ."

ROBBED OF BENEFITS: Women with 14 years' seniority are being laid off, while men with 8 months' service are retained at GE's Schenectady plant, a delegate reported. Employers and state unemployment compensation boards are finding new ways to deny working mothers unemployment benefits, said Margaret McCartney, Sylvania local 639, Emporium, Pa. Others told of compensation authorities forcing unemployed factory workers, particularly Negro women, to take jobs as domestics. Runaway shops in their new locations were reported hiring no women.

Rose Russell, Teachers Union legislative representative, said:

> "Today when government enters the daily life of a person as it never did before, to insure our right to collective bargaining and decent wage levels people are propelled into political action who have never been before. The 'menace of communism' is one of the biggest frauds put over on the American people to corrode their rights and chip away their instruments of self-defense."

HOME POLITICKING: Keynoter Dorothy Burch, national trustee, local 732, Tiffin, O., urged election of more working women to office, more unionists to be active in community politics. Since working wives have not one job but two (in caring for a home), she suggested husbands could help, urged a little union action right at home to guarantee "equal rest for equal pay."

At the panel on speedup and health the women who make the nation's television sets, electric light bulbs and appliances lashed out against the "incentive system" (where a day-rate worker receives extra pay if he produces more than the normal amount). Delegates urged locals to fight its establishment and end it where it now exists. Virginia Hipple, local 754, Dayton, O., warned that piece or incentive workers who try to achieve in a 30-hour work a 40-hour take-home pay are giving the boss a chance to keep them producing at speed-up levels later. She related how workers in her plant agreed to slow down, although it meant a 9% decrease in wages, because they realized speedup took jobs from others.

THIRST HELPS PRODUCTION: A young woman from California described a situation the union is fighting in an A. O. Smith plant where a machine is running and the operator's hands are in motion all day:

> "When the operator wants a drink, a relief worker must bring it to her and hold it to her lips."

Frank Mingo, a Negro delegate, said Intl. Harvester's aim is ⅓ more production. He described a Harvester time-study which stated workers could produce more if they didn't "lose time" taking a drink, lighting a cigarette, or saying good morning to fellow workers.

Because speedup makes workers more susceptible to illness, the panel recommended not only fighting it, but also fighting for national health insurance, more government money for preventive medicine studies of the effect of speed-up on workers' health.

WHAT IS NEEDED: Political action resolutions from the convention urged:

- More child-care and school lunch programs.
- $1.25 minimum wage and Congressional action on one of the 12 equal-pay-for-equal-work bills now pigeonholed there.
- A work week of less than 40 hours.
- Income tax deductions for child-care expenses for working mothers in this year's tax law. (The present amendment to the bill passed by the House and now in the Senate provides up to $600 a year or $11.54 a week for children under 10 where the mother is the only breadwinner. This is "totally inadequate," says UE. They urge an adequate deduction for all children under 16.)
- More appropriations for the government's Women's Bureau.
- Elimination of discrimination in state unemployment compensation laws and inclusion of maternity benefits in those laws (Rhode Island is the only state where maternity is now covered).

In the shops they recommended a strong fight to end wage differentials between men and women and rating of certain jobs as "women's jobs." (UE figures that in 1950, when women's average factory wage was $1,285 less than men's, employers made $5,400,000 extra profits on such discrimination; average earnings in all jobs in 1952 were $3,255 for white men, $1,339 for white women, $517 for Negro women.)

'What's to be done?' dept.

(West Virginia Division)

The most common untruths circulated about America abroad are that: (1) America is plotting war; (2) workers are exploited by big business; (3) it is a land of divorce and broken homes; (4) minority groups are persecuted. Every letter written from America should combat these untruths, Mrs. Jones stressed.

She suggested that West Virginia Clubwomen celebrate Letters Week by writing an extra letter letter abroad, by resuming a neglected correspondence—and by praying for peace.

—Martins Ferry (O.) Times-Leader, May 19.

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NEW YORK

Salute to Paul Robeson

2,500 NEW YORKERS OVERFLOW RALLY TO RESTORE PAUL ROBESON'S PASSPORT

A rally May 26 launching a national campaign to restore Paul Robeson's passport overflowed out of Renaissance Ballroom (capacity 1,500 with standees) to nearby Mother A.M.E. Zion Church, of which the singer's brother, Rev. Benjamin C. Robeson, is pastor. Above, Earl Robinson sings to the overflow meeting of more than 1,000. Robeson and other speakers and artists appeared before both meetings. Messages of support came from all over the world, including one from Charles Chaplin in Switzerland. It was a grand salute to a great artist.

Great rank-and-file labor victory on N.Y. docks

(Continued from Page 1)

promised the Negro longshoremen a new deal and assailed the jimcrow policies of the AFL Seafarers Intl. Union.

On May 26 the longshoremen voted. They took off their buttons, refrained from all campaigning, talked in hushed voices in the polling stations.

The results: ILA, 9,110; AFL, 8,791. There were 1,797 disputed ballots and most of these were ILA votes challenged by the AFL. Of these, 762 were cast by hatch bosses whom the AFL called "supervisors" and therefore ineligible. Actually they have no say about hiring or firing and are required by the Waterfront Commission to register as longshoremen. The others were challenged for inadequate identification or minor misspelling of their names.

VOTE ANALYSIS: If finally tallied the votes would probably give the ILA an edge of close to 2,000. The difference in the ILA showing between December and May was accounted for by the 4,000 N.Y. tugboat men who seceded from the union before the May election. (They subsequently voted to join the new Marine Division of the United Mine Workers.)

NLRB spokesmen at once said it might take six weeks to check the challenged ballots and some hinted that if the AFL wanted the spelling of each name checked before any votes were counted, it could take up to a year.

Capt. Bradley said: "We want the Board to count the disputed ballots right away and let us get down to negotiating a contract. For the second time the men have shown they want us to represent them; it is up to the Board to stop fooling around."

UNION UNITED: He added that if the Board "started kicking us around like the way they did before," the union might not be able to keep the men from another walkout. John Dwyer, chairman of the AFL dockers, immediately volunteered to herd scabs in the event of another strike as he had in the last one.

With its second victory in five months, against such odds, the ILA was in the strongest position it enjoyed in years. Its locals at once chipped in to bail it out of receivership. Up and down the East Coast the longshoremen were sticking with it.

The prospects were for greater unity. The creation of the Mine Workers Marine Division was generally taken as a prelude to eventually joining all East Coast longshoremen as well as tugboatmen with the miners. Affiliation was impossible at the moment because John L. Lewis has refused to sign the Taft-Hartley non-communist oath; if the ILA merged with the miners it would be barred from participating in the NLRB challenged ballot hearings.

CRITICAL OF AFL: The Teamsters, who originally were commissioned by the AFL along with the ISU as the raiding spearhead, had backed out of the picture by election time. On election eve John J. O'Rourke, pres. of Local 293, AFL Intl. Brotherhood of Teamsters, turned up at an ILA rally and criticized AFL pres. George Meany for trying to wipe out the ILA.

On other levels Teamster pres. David Beck and the CIO Steelworkers' MacDonald had come to an "understanding" with Lewis and there seemed to be a new combination shaping up—of miners, steelworkers, teamsters and longshoremen, the mightiest collection of workers in the country.

ALP CAMPAIGN

4 anti-Joe rallies in June for Brooklyn

FOUR Brooklyn anti-McCarthy rallies were announced last week by the Kings County American Labor Party. Dr. Corliss Lamont, William Howard Melish, Lionel Stander, Terry Rosenbaum (teacher recently dismissed for his defiance of McCarthy) and ALP County exec. secy. Paul Trilling will speak.

Meetings are scheduled for Thurs., June 10, at the Premier Palace, 505 Sutter Av., Brownsville, and at Brighton Community Center, 3200 Coney Island Av.; Tues., June 15, at Aperion Manor, 813 Kings Highway, and Royal Mansion, 4114 13th Av., Boro Park.

The ALP will touch off the campaign on June 5 by circulating anti-McCarthy petitions addressed to Pres. Eisenhower. Trilling said this would "enable the residents of these communities to voice their organized opposition to the McCarthy threat. . . . and will encourage other political parties to develop opposition to McCarthy as one of the dominant issues in the 1954 election campaign."

TWU FIGHTING FOR ITS LIFE?

Behind transit row: What led to strike set for June 14

A CIO delegation led by the Transport Workers' Austin Hogan and the United Public Workers' Jack Bigel swept down on Albany one March day seven years ago. Leo Isaacson captained a simultaneous American Labor Party lobby. The target was the Condon-Wadlin bill to deny government employes the right to strike.

The question split the major parties. Mayor O'Dwyer, against the measure, quarreled with Brooklyn Boro Pres. John Cashmore. N.Y. City Republicans, fearing labor at the polls, went off the Dewey reservation to side with most Democrats against the bill.

In the early hours of March 14, 1947, the bill passed the Legislature 92-54. In the seven years since, the Act has come to seem like small-arms in the anti-labor arsenal, but it has done its job quietly. It has been a menace to thousands who once had the right to strike and whose counterparts in most countries still have.

THINKABLE STRIKE: Last week the Transport Workers Union, representing 34,000 of the city's 44,000 transit employes, announced it might shortly test the Act with a strike on all subways and city-owned bus lines at 12:01 a.m. June 14. The Transit Authority quickly said it would invoke the Condon-Wadlin Act and seek injunctions.

Mayor Wagner, though disclaiming any responsibility for TA labor policies, said that "a strike on our transit system is unthinkable." But what made one decidedly thinkable were these factors: 1) the TA had challenged the union's most elementary collective bargaining rights; 2) the union rank and file was finding its voice, and at one point when TWU pres. Michael Quill proposed to settle, voted the Quill administration down; 3) CIO seemed ready to back TWU.

THE FINDERS' FACTS: The present crisis started last December when TWU demanded a 25c across-the-board raise, improved holiday and vacation benefits. Pres. Quill said the union would strike on New Year's Day. Mayor-elect Wagner offered a fact-finding board instead and Quill, who had supported Wagner, enthusiastically gave in.

Wagner named three fact-finders: George Fraunce Jr.; John J. Snyder Jr.; and Jack Turcott, one of the few Daily News writers to walk through the picket-line during last year's newspaper strike. They went to work Jan. 6 and came up with this central "fact" on May 18: Transit "chaos" was threatened because of a "disgruntled labor force and a hapless management."

RESTIVE WORKERS: They recommended a raise of 14c instead of the 25c with 6½c retroactive to Jan. 1 and 7½c effective March 15, 1955. They advised the TA to recognize the union that held the majority of employes and sign a two-year contract, but also suggested appointment of a "czar" to act as full-time arbitrator with "unlimited power" to make his rulings binding, assess damages for disobedience.

Nevertheless, Quill recommended acceptance and TWU's exec. board went along. But shop stewards and section managers angrily rejected the settlement and from behind closed doors reporters heard Quill being booed. He later said he had found "mass unrest" at the fact-finders' terms.

Quietly Quill moved to suppress that unrest by suspending four of the restless rank-and-filers.

THE GENERAL SPEAKS: The conflict within TWU was resolved when the TA voted 4-1 against the settlement and without consulting unions put through a 5c-12c hourly raise. TA chairman Maj. Gen. Hugh J. Casey said he would not "destroy labor unions" but he thought union contracts and

(Continued on Page 11)

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COME HEAR DISCUSSION "Let's Stay Out of Indo-China." Fri., June 11, 8:30 p.m., at Yorkville Temple, 157 E. 86th St. Speakers: Choon Cha & Chung Soon Kwak, Rev. John Darr. Entertainment. Adm. Free. Auspices: 8th & 10th A.D., ALP.

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CHILDREN'S EVENTS will be back next week with a listing of summer activities. It will appear from time to time during the summer to help you make summer in the city more liveable for you and your kids.

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Fri.-Sun., June 25-27

THURS., JUNE 10

Robeson speaks at amnesty rally

THE opening of Amnesty Month (June 4-July 4) will be marked with a rally calling for amnesty for the victims of the Smith Act, at the air-cooled Chateau Gardens, 105 E. Houston St., New York, Thurs., June 10, at 8 p.m. Paul Robeson will be the featured speaker at the meeting, which is also a tribute to Dr. Edward K. Barsky, chairman of the Natl. Committee to Win Amnesty for the Smith Act Victims.

Other speakers will be Angus Cameron, publisher; Mrs. Peggy Dennis, wife of Eugene Dennis; John Abt, Progressive Party general counsel; Mrs. Edith Marzani, and James Aronson, exec. editor of the GUARDIAN. Admission is 75c.

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Folk Concert Chamber
Presented by Student Council of
Metropolitan Music School
See CALENDAR for details

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JUNE 12 CONCERT

Seeger to sing at the Pythian

A CONCERT illustrating the relationship between folk and classical music will be presented by the Metropolitan Music School Sat., June 12, at 8 p.m., at the Pythian, 135 W. 70th St., New York. Pete Seeger will be featured in a program of folk songs of the world. Also appearing will be Nadyne Brewer, soprano, and the Metropolitan Trio: Sylvia Medford Anderson, violin; Muriel Sue Mintzes, piano; Robert Von Gutfeld, cello. Tickets for contributions of $1 or $1.25 are available at the school, 18 W. 74th St., or at the Pythian.

NEW YORK EVENTS

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Another big People's Artists song-fest with Pete Seeger, Walter Raim, Al Moss, Laura Duncan, Leon Bibb, many more. Dancing to Rector Bailey Orch. Tix: $1.25 in adv. (res.), $1.50, at door.
SAT., JUNE 19 — 8:30
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Accompanied by
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Presented by
The Progressive Club
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TRIBUTE TO DR. EDWARD K. BARSKY
Speakers:
PAUL ROBESON ANGUS CAMERON
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BELFRAGE SPEAKS

Kwaks give piano-violin concert June 16

A PIANO and violin concert will be given Wed., June 16, at 8 p.m. in the Manhattan Towers ballroom, 76th St. and Broadway, by Choon Cha and Chungsoon Kwak, outstanding Korean musicians facing deportation to Syngman Rhee's South Korea. The story of the Kwaks, both of whom held high posts in the Korean section of the War Dept. in World War II, was told in the March 29 GUARDIAN. Both outspokenly anti-Rhee, they face certain persecution—or death—if they are deported. They have asked to be permitted to go to a country of their own choice and have won a stay of deportation pending a hearing in Federal District Court.

Cedric Belfrage, GUARDIAN editor, who wrote the story bringing the case to national attention, will speak.

Kwak, a violinist, was concertmaster of the Seoul Symphony Orchestra while still in high school. He and his wife gave many concerts in their native land before coming to the U.S. in the late '30's to continue their studies.

The June 11 concert will include works of Bach, Beethoven, Debussy, Mozart and Chopin, and a special program of Korean folk music arranged by Mrs. Kwak. Tickets are on sale at $3.30 (res.), $1.80 and 90c for students and young people. They may be ordered or picked up at the office of the Provisional Committee to Defend the Kwaks, Suite 101, 23 W. 26th St., New York 10, N.Y. Call MUrray Hill 4-3459. The receipts will be used to continue the Kwaks' fight.

AT THE STANLEY

Vera Estratova in "The Mistress," a film based on a Gorky play about a middle-class family in Czarist Russia.

Transit row

(Continued from Page 9)

recognition were "illegal."

The one opposition vote on the TA came from Harris J. Klein, who earlier had brought libel action against Quill. Klein called the TA position "unrealistic, autocratic and typical union-busting technique," but he stood for the fact-finders' proposal including a transport "czar."

TWO-FRONT FIGHT: After the TA's challenge the 700 members of the union's joint executive voted to strike and set the June 14 deadline. Officers began to poll the rank and file. The "trend" was shown by the 500 TWU members at the 148th St. IRT repair shop who voted unanimously for the strike.

Some 200 members of the City CIO Council, representing 500,000 workers, voted to back the strike, set June 9 for a mass rally and authorized distribution of 100,000 leaflets. The TA's hurried appeal for the Condon-Wadlin Act and injunctions made it plain that the strike, if actually called, would have to be won not only on picket-lines but in court.

LAWYERS' WAR COUNCIL: CIO counsel Arthur Goldberg conferred with TWU gen. counsel John F. O'Donnell. The union afterward announced that lawyers of all CIO international unions would meet June 4 in "a council of war" on the Condon-Wadlin Law.

The lawyers had two points to argue: 1) the law itself is unconstitutional, and 2) it doesn't apply to N.Y. transit workers who formerly were private employes and who now do the same work as those on private transit lines who have have the right to strike.

The Mayor and the City Council urged the TA to negotiate with the TWU, but within the terms laid down by the fact-finders and already rejected by the rank and file.

There was still a chance for a "compromise"; but even those accustomed to false alarms on the subway felt that TWU might be fighting for its life, and many New Yorkers might be walking to work by the middle of June.

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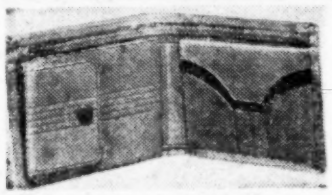

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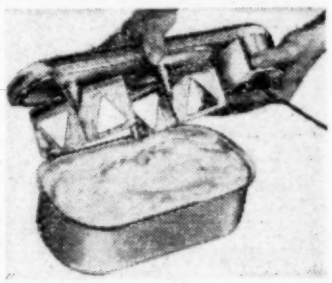

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SARTRE IN THE SPECTATOR'S SPOT

They tried to blame Ulanova for the fall of Dienbienphu

By Jean-Paul Sartre

Jean-Paul Sartre is the famous "existentialist" writer who, while aiming sharp broadsides at French Communists on specific issues, increasingly supports broad unity for peace and friendship with the socialist world. Last month he attacked H-bomb politics in a strong speech at the World Peace Council meeting in Berlin.

What follows is the last portion of Sartre's denunciation (Liberation, 5/17) of the French government's ban on the Soviet ballet, when the company headed by Galina Ulanova was already in Paris—after the Russians had just given a rapturous welcome to the Comédie Francaise company in Moscow. Sartre first describes how the government and police set the stage for the ban by having a group of "Indo-China veterans" threaten to throw hand-grenades in the theater on the opening night.

WHY did they go to all this trouble? Why make such a production of it? Would it not have been better to let Ulanova dance? Ah! But they needed scapegoats—that was the thing.

Our government stands at bay: all the ministers who have succeeded each other in power have lived under the illusion that the Indo-China war would be lost by their successors. But inevitably the successors of all these successors had to pay for all those who preceded them.

ULANOVA

That day has come: M. Bidault*, successor of M. Bidault, and M. Pleven**, successor of M. Pleven, are cornered! As long as the "strong point" of Dienbienphu still held, the ministers had an alibi; when they were attacked for their criminal errors, they replied by lauding the heroism of Gen. de Castries. Heroism and death impose silence: the defenders of Dienbienphu did not suspect that they were dying for M. Bidault. But when Dienbienphu fell, the systematic exploitation of the heroes and the dead could turn against the government. The more one had admired these victims, the more criminal their murderers would appear. . . .

Who then shall be the guilty party? The generals? One can hear them from here protesting. No, it is the communists that have made us lose the war—and consequently, the Soviet authorities who steer the Communist Party by remote control all the way from Moscow. To turn public indignation against them, the public must be made to accept the fact of their guilt. And how is that to be done except by giving them the works?

ONE recognizes here the Hitler technique: when bread is lacking, synagogues are burned and the German people conclude that the Jews are eating their bread. So what do we do in this case? Declare war on the U. S. S. R.? That wouldn't be too bad—but this sort of decision our government is more inclined to leave to the Americans. Dissolve the C. P.? The working class might get annoyed; and one does not indulge in such an adventure with a majority of two.

Happily we have Sergeyev and Ulanova; they are just what the doctor ordered. We'll insult them, we'll throw them out. . . . First we dig up "irresponsible elements" (the police are looking for them; let's bet they won't find them) to take on the job of smashing the windows of CP offices; then we announce the presence of Chinese units at Dienbienphu. Never mind the immediate denial; "throw mud, some of it will always stick." Finally we arrange to have our hand forced by mysterious spokesmen for the French soul, who represent themselves as interpreters of the public ire and who come to tell the government: "We want no Soviets in the Opera."

So it's in the bag: the transfer of responsibility is accomplished. If M. Laniel has brought it off, then the mystified public must wonder: "To have forced the government to ban the ballets, to have threatened to burn down the Opera, I must have been very angry. And indeed I am angry. Is it then **the communists** that I am angry with?" And in the future, whenever we hear the name Dienbienphu, a voice will whisper: "Ulanova." Only yesterday I overheard an old witch summing up the government's line: "I should say not!" she was saying: "**they** have killed our boys, you wouldn't want us to go and see them dance?"

BUT look, M. Laniel—you haven't brought it off. When we think of Dienbienphu, it won't be the pure face of Ulanova that will rise in our memories; it will be your face, and M. Bidault's, and M. Pleven's. Admit, now, that they fit better with memories of carnage and catastrophe. . . . Throw out Ulanova, throw out M. Vinogradov***. It won't do you any good. For us, for our children and for the world, it is you, Bidault and Pleven—it is you three who are responsible for an unjust and hopeless war. . . .

You have fooled no one. Everyone knows you have insulted the Soviet people to make us think they are responsible for our troubles, to make them think we spurn the hand they hold out to us. And you won't prevent us from wishing the Soviet dancers, in the name of hundreds of thousands of Frenchmen, bon voyage and an early return to France. For next year, M. Laniel, Ulanova will still be dancing. But you will no longer be Premier.

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* Foreign Minister. ** Defense Minister. *** Soviet Ambassador.